

*Nauticus*  
R THE  
RIGHTS  
OF THE  
SAILORS  
VINDICATED.

517. 6. 8.  
3

In Answer to a  
LETTER of JUNIUS

On the 5th of *October*, wherein he asserts

The Necessity and Legality of pressing Men into  
the Service of the Navy.

---

No Freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseised of his  
Freehold or Liberties, or Free Customs; or out-lawed or ba-  
rished, or any way destroyed, nor will we pass upon him  
or commit him to Prison, unless by the legal Judgment of  
his Peers, or by the Law of the Land.

MAG. CHAR.

---

*Vir bonus, est Quis?*  
*Qui consulta Patrum; qui leges, juraque, servat.*

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L O N D O N:  
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M.DCC.LXXII.

L3

THE HISTORY OF

THE CITY OF

NEW YORK

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT  
TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY  
JOHN B. HENRY

NEW YORK

1846

NEW YORK

NEW YORK



## DEDICATION.\*

MY LORD,

**I** Am diverted from a former intention of addressing the following pages to the King, by an opinion, universally entertained among the public, that he still continues intirely under the guidance and influence of your counsels, with respect to his political conduct.

The grievance here presented to your observation, is not suggested by the factious voice of a disappointed, selfish, clamorous set of men, whose pretensions to patriotism generally bear date from the time of their dismissal from office, but is a reasonable and calm remonstrance in behalf of a brave and valuable, but oppressed class of people, whose poverty and helpless situation, sufficiently exclude them from the notice or regard, of the mere place-hunting opposers of a ministry.

\* The above is a copy of an intended dedication to a pamphlet in the reign of George II. addressed to his favourite, and was written in the year 1742-3.

I think

## vi DEDICATION.

I think it not altogether improper, to premise some apology for the freedom of stile you will meet with, in my representations on this subject, which, however, has not been assumed with a view of giving offence, *but* from a necessity, arising from the unfeeling arrogance, with which his Majesty's ministers persist in refusing to pay the smallest attention, to redress this evil, after so many complaints.

If there had not been instances of it in former periods, one should be apt to impute it to that *lordly* maxim, that prevails among the nobles of your country, of considering the *lower orders* of the people as their vassals, which is a notion that hath been adopted and gained ground very fast among the great men in England, within these *last ten* years. However, to the glory of our ancestors memory, there do still subsist in this nation, certain land-marks, for bounding even the prerogative of royalty, which are too visible to be mistaken, although so often injured and defaced.

Before we proceed further on this subject, I must take leave to *introduce* to your lordship's notice, a quotation from the famous declaration in *Magna Charta*, viz. "No free-

" man

## D E D I C A T I O N. vii

“man shall be *taken* or *imprisoned*, or dis-  
 “seised of his freehold or free customs, or  
 “*outlawed* or *banished*, or *any way* destroyed,  
 “*nor* will we pass upon him, or *commit* him  
 “to *prison*, unless by the *legal* judgment of  
 “*his* peers, or by the law of the land.”

Fortunately for this country, it is equally  
 impossible for the most *leaden* capacity to  
*misapprehend*, or for the most *artful sophist* to  
*evade* the force of this declaration, neither  
 can it be *invalidated* by any act, even of the  
*supreme* power of the state. The King has  
 been taught (with great propriety) by you,  
 in his speeches to his people, to address himself  
 to them, as their political father, and to de-  
 clare to them, that he will shew as much  
 tenderness to *their* rights, as to his own.

Give me leave to mention some transac-  
 tions, *under your influence*, that have a strong  
 reference to these declarations.

A periodical paper is published, wherein  
 the author reproaches the minister, with put-  
 ting a falsehood into the mouth of his prince,  
 which reproach was universally believed to  
 be just.

Has not your royal pupil, at *your* instiga-  
 tion, persevered in the most unrelenting per-  
 secution of that author, although the rights  
of



viii DEDICATION.

of the subject were *violated* in the grossest manner, to ascertain the identity of his person? Was not the man who had been guilty of this violation, countenanced by the King while he was *known* to be practising every mean chicane that could be suggested, to evade a fair trial? and was not *that evasion* made use of, to gratify your *joint* revenge by another notorious act of injustice?

Did not the king *shortly* after, by *your* influence *replace* this violator of the constitution in one of the *first* departments of administration? Could the thirst of revenge so blind your understanding, as not to suffer you to discern the *illegality* of the steps that were taken in pursuit of it? or was it possible you should be either *regardless*, or *not aware*, to what an *unseemly* situation you reduced your Sovereign, by pushing him on to the *indecorum* of shewing his *particular* favour and confidence to a man, who had been so *recently* and signally *stigmatized* for a *breach* of the laws, while a *pensioned* majority of the *late* house of commons, were so *infamously servile*, as to become the *tools* of your spleen by expelling the *object* of it from their prostitute society? Do you imagine the people have so very mean an opinion of your abilities,

# D E D I C A T I O N. ix

abilities, as to suppose it *possible*, that *either* of you were *inconscious*, that in *these* proceedings, there was *not* the *least* degree of tenderness for the *people's* rights, mingled with the *measureless* resentment you indulged?

Are we to conclude, that his Majesty feels *less* reluctance in *practising* a falsehood, than in *suffering* his *favourite* to be *reproached* for it?

Was the odium of these acts *disguised* or *lessened* by your *attempts* to *retaliate* his crime, (a libel) in employing *hiring* pens to blacken his *private* character, which (though *utterly indefensible*) did in *no* wise interfere with the merits of his cause? Besides you could surely set up for a Censor of other people's vices with a very ill grace, while that *diabolical* one of revenge was rankling in your own breast.

Can you impose *so far* on your royal disciple, as to make him believe, his people impute all this to his *pure* hatred to vice and *immorality*, while they behold that *perfidious* and abandoned wretch L. S. so *singularly* distinguished by his *favour*? Must they not

rather

## DEDICATION.

rather wonder that *he* should escape this *virtuous* rage of their pious Sovereign?

Has he from you imbibed the shameful maxim, that a prince may dispense with a regard to truth, provided he inforces the motto *Nemo me impune objurgat*?

Ought this indirect and constructive affront to *one* man to be deemed of equal consequence with the *known* cruelty that is exercised, in the execution of press-warrants, *whereby* the king, *contrary* to the *letter* and *spirit* of the law, and to *his own* declarations, *wittingly* and *willingly* permits his prerogative to be extended to the seizure of his *innocent* subjects, in the *lawful* resistance of which oppression, they are frequently *wounded*, and obliged to undergo the most barbarous treatment?

Have the common Sailors *forfeited* their *political* relation to their Sovereign, or has he *been told*, that their poverty and helpless state *exclude* them from a *right* to his protection? He has *not renounced* them so far as to *absolve* them from their *allegiance*; does he think that oppression is a *decent* return from a British king to his *best* subjects, for the *most important* services? Have *his family* been requited



quited in this *ungenerous* and *unhandsome* manner, for the benefits *conferred* on us by their *condescending* to accept the crown of these realms?

Has he been taught that *detestable* tenet, that there is *no obligation* from a prince to his people, *below a certain level*, and that poverty and criminality may be regarded, among *great men*, as *convertible* terms?

By what *logical* deductions will you undertake to prove, that this *violent strain* of the prerogative, is *reconcilable* either to his declarations from the throne, or to his *coronation oath*? or how will you be able to convince any man, of tolerable understanding, and an *ingenuous* disposition, that it is not a high violation of both? Will you pretend to affirm, that if a king of this country was to add to the *illegality* of this measure, the *imprudence* of putting himself at the head of a press-gang, and was to *lose his life* by the hands of an *innocent* subject, whose person he was attempting to seize, by virtue of this *assumed* prerogative? Will you affirm (I say) that by the laws of the land, *that person* would be deemed *guilty* of treason or murder? Or must you not acknowledge, that an honest juryman would be under the *necessity* of  
 b 2 *acquitting*

*acquitting him, as having done it in the lawful defence of his person and liberty?*

If you were to attempt to reply to the remonstrances on this head, you must be forced to recur to that stale, hackneyed plea of necessity, which supercedes all laws; and, whenever *such* a necessity really exists, I will not dispute the *validity* of the plea.

But will any man of common knowledge pretend to assert, that *such* a necessity has ever existed within *his* memory?

The necessities that have *hitherto* been made the plea for this measure, have arisen *solely* from the *arrogance* and *supine inattention* of the supreme power, in *disdaining* to give themselves the smallest concern, to make any *provision* against this *abominable* expedient, which can never be justified (at least in a land of freedom) *but* in cases of the *last extremity*; whereas, this is done *when* there reigns a *universal* scene of mirth, luxury, and dissipation among *the rest* of the nation. Is it *possible* his Majesty can be so *ignorant* of common distinctions, as *not to discern* what a *disgraceful* dilemma he suffers himself to be reduced to, when in order to *palliate* this measure, he is driven to take up this plea of a necessity, *which* (he must be *conscious*)  
could

could never exist, but by *his* sufferance? Does not this plea, instead of *extenuating*, enhance the reproach? Is it not *substituting* an *indirect* fallshood to defend a *breach* of faith?

Permit me to ask, whether any friend of your lordship or the King, would not have thought the epithet of *perjured* villain, *justly* bestowed on the author of the *South Briton*, if he had been guilty of any action, as *contrary* to his oath, as *these* press-warrants are to *Magna Charta*?

Is it not the most shameless *indecent* in the advocates of the crown, to defend their royal master, upon the other plea of custom, as if *his* ideas of honour were upon a level with *those* of the servants of a certain company, or of a *petty* trader at the custom-house, to whom *habit* has rendered *perjury* as *familiar* as any ordinary occurrence in the course of their business?

His majesty cannot plead *ignorance* in this point, *unless* he will renounce all pretension to understand *plain English* when he reads it.

Can it then be matter either of *wonder* or *complaint*, that people *lose* their reverence for crowned heads, when they see with what *facility* and *indifference* they violate the most sacred obligations?

But



xiv DEDICATION.

But if we are *never* to behold our monarch out of *leading strings*; if he cannot stir one step in the *clearest cases* without a *flapper* \* at his elbow; if his genius will *not* permit him to *soar* to a *positive* good, let him at least practise a *negative* one, which indeed is *all* that is requisite on *his part*, to redress this *enormous* evil: I will be bold to say, that the people who suffer under it are of *infinitely more importance* both to *himself* and the state, than *any* circumstance that can be apprehended from the absurd conduct of his relations.

The remedy is plain, easy and *infallible*; it becomes you, who are his Monitor and Governor, to *shew* him the *rectitude* and *propriety* of adopting it.

Nothing more is necessary, than a short message to the House of Commons (*as they call themselves*) signifying that neither his *honour* or his *conscience* will permit him to give *his sanction* to press-warrants, *because* he finds them to be absolutely *incompatible* with and *contradictory* to the solemn oath he has taken, *not to violate* his subjects rights, with a recommendation to them at the same

\* Gulliver.

time,

# DEDICATION. xv

time, to provide a *proper* expedient against any *future* emergency.

There cannot be the smallest doubt of the conformity of that *obsequious* assembly to any requisition of the crown, when the minister is so well furnished with arguments to convince them of the *necessity* of their compliance.

When you have effected this, your lordship will have *more* than *counterbalanced* all the *mischiefs* you have occasioned to *this* kingdom, even though the *suggestions* of your enemies were well grounded; which I owe you the *justice* to acknowledge, is (in my own private opinion *at present*) very far from being the case.

But if after all, the King should *inflexibly* resolve not to grant any redress to his subjects in this particular case; they will have just occasion to conclude, that he is wholly governed by some person, who has no regard either to his honour or reputation. I am, with all due respect,

Your Lordship's

Humble Servant.

NAUTICUS.

DEDICATION

To the PUBLIC.

**A**S the revival of this subject, at a time when peace seems to be established, may appear rather unseasonable, the author thinks it highly proper to remark, in order to obviate this objection, that it is in times of tranquillity, that government have most leisure and opportunity for discovering and reforming abuses; and in this particular case, if the consideration thereof were to be postponed, until there was a sudden occasion for manning a fleet, it might be much more reasonably objected, that an attempt to redress this grievance at such a period, might be attended with singular hazard to the state, from the instant necessity for the service of the complainants.

Your Lordship's

Humble servant.

NAUTICUS



THE  
RIGHTS  
OF THE  
SAI LORS  
VINDICATED.

THE generality of mankind are apt to pay so much compliment to an author of established reputation, as not to be very minute in scanning the validity of his general assertions; but surely it is an ungrateful, as well as a most insolent, return for this confidence, when a writer presumes so much on his literary consequence, as to attempt, by his mere *ipse dixit*, to impose the most absurd doctrines on the understanding of the public.

Without being fully persuaded, that you are under this predicament, I should not have ventured to contest the opinion of so popular a writer; but it is possible, that the goodness of a cause may more than balance the difference of abilities; and in the present case, it requires no extraordinary talents to expose the fallacy of those arbitrary maxims you have laid down, in a letter of the 5th of October; wherein, after some affected strains of candour and patriotism, you peremptorily decide, that the custom of pressing men into the service of the navy, is not only a *necessary* but a *legal* measure.

In which points I shall take leave to dissent from you, so far as to assert, that *no* case hath occurred, in our memory, where the *nature* of the necessity was such, as could *justify* so oppressive a proceeding; nor is your mere affirmation of sufficient authority to  
satisfy

satisfy us, that an act which is a manifest violation of the great Charter of liberty, ought to be deemed legal : a position, that may prove as difficult, perhaps, for you to explain, as for your readers to comprehend.

You tell us, that “ When Lord Camden  
 “ supposes a necessity (which the King is  
 “ to judge of) and founded upon that ne-  
 “ cessity, attributes to the crown a legal  
 “ power (not given by the act itself) to  
 “ suspend the operation of an act of the  
 “ legislature,—I listen with diffidence and  
 “ respect, but without the smallest degree of  
 “ conviction or assent”. May we ask, how  
 you reconcile this negation of Lord Cam-  
 den’s doctrine, with the positive affirmation  
 you pronounce in a case *precisely* similar ?  
 The Charter of liberty is, at least, as sacred  
 as any act of the Legislature ; the King is  
 judge of the necessity, and in the circum-  
 stance of pressing men, does *something*



*more* than barely *suspend* the operation of an act of parliament; yet you profess to have no doubt of the *strict right* of his proceeding in *this* case.

As the body of people, who suffer under this intolerable hardship, are of much more importance to the state, than any individual whatever, and even than any other body of men (unless perhaps we except the tillers of land) it is much to be lamented, that the redress of *their* grievances unfortunately gives our *leading* patriots no chance of *ministerial* elevation; for, if it had, these candidates for preferment might have chosen a thesis to declaim upon, which would probably have been much more grateful to the public, than their *endless* harangues in defence of a grant, which *prescription* ought not to render *less* odious *now*, than *at the time* it was made; and by the resumption whereof, the noble complainant

would

not have been so much injured in fortune, as not to be able to have maintained the most *worthless* animal in his train in a state of luxury, compared with that of a common sailor.

Possibly then too, the flowry Junius, who, during the vacation season, is content to amuse himself by publishing the effusions of his spleen and fancy, as the air round B — happens to affect him, might not have thought it beneath his genius, to have favoured us with a *precise definition* of that Necessity which can justify so *violent a strain* of the constitution, and have shewn from what principles of natural and politic law his conclusion was deduced; because hitherto, *this term* has been applied in so *general* and *vague* a manner, that those who are obliged to appeal to it, seem to be utterly confused in their ideas of the sense in which it ought to be interpreted; indeed  
from

from the easy negligence wherewith this article is treated, one would conclude it to have been only an accidental topic, and that this part of the letter was filled up by a *feminine* hand; at least one may presume, the good *doctor* was not present at the *family rehearsal*, \* since he would hardly have omitted so fair an opportunity of *clubbing* a quotation from his ingenious friend Burlamaqui.

If the "strict right of pressing" cannot be controverted, the public may reasonably expect, that the advocates for that doctrine should point out the *legal* distinction, in our constitution, that *restrains* the minister from *extending* the royal prerogative to the seizure of his subjects property, as well as their *persons*, in these conjunctures of state necessity, since they are *equally*

\* A learned family society of writers, supposed assistants to Junius; for whose interest and reputation Mr. B——s seems to be uncommonly solicitous.



comprehended in the great Charter.\* Money is one of the sinews of war, and as necessary as men; now supposing a profligate ministry, by every species of corruption and mismanagement, to have beggared their royal master, to have exhausted the public treasure, and, among other omissions of their duty, to have suffered the navy to run into a *total* decay; moreover, that under this shameful predicament, and in the interval of a *long* prorogation of parliament, they should think proper (for a pretence to raise money) to alarm the nation with the apprehension of a *sudden* rupture with some foreign power; in such a conjuncture, which is not *impossible* to arise in future times, (and which is somewhat similar to what happened in the reign of Charles I. and II. †) What measures

\* See the title page.

† We have seen an instance resembling this of a more modern date, where an unpopular ministry, af-

measures are to be taken? Here is a case where the *want* of *men* and of *money* is *equally* urgent; the king, who is Judge of the necessity, may reasonably alledge, that the *privilege* of *impressing* men, without the *means* of *paying* them, or of putting his navy in a *serviceable* condition, is *vain* and *ineffectual*; and yet, one may form a tolerable guess, what sort of entertainment the king's servants would meet with, both in print and parliament, who in this state of Necessity should dare to violate the *sacred* property of Mr. ———, in his *well-earned* mansion at ———;

ter making a great parade about a war, but conscious that their political consequence must determine with the peace, advised their master to conclude a dishonourable treaty, after raising considerable supplies from his subjects; wherein they exactly copied the shameful behaviour of the king and ministry, in Charles the Second's time, who with the ideas of a knot of infamous sharpers, after they had got the people to advance their money, produced the peace they had concluded, and laughed at the parliament for their silly credulity, in being thus taken in.

the

the injured spirit of Junius would hardly be appeased by any thing less than the minister's head and another revolution, although *Jonathan's* were still left open for his redress.

There are some cases, where plain reading and understanding put people of common discernment on a level with the most refined genius, and therefore when men of superior abilities attempt to maintain doctrines that are diametrically opposite to common sense and reason, I listen, *not* (in the canting phrase of Junius) "with diffidence and respect," but with a mixture of *indignation* and *contempt*; nor is it possible to help being shocked on such occasions, at these *humiliating* instances of depravity and perverseness in the *human* species.

If a sailor should unfortunately lose his life in defence of his liberty against a press-



gang, or under the *same* circumstances, should happen to kill *one* of *them*, would our *arbitrary* Chief Justice, in his charge to a jury, *dare* to pronounce the *legality*\* of the killing in the *former* case? or to declare the *illegality* of the *self-defence* a *sufficient* cause for their finding it *murder* in the *latter*? Even Junius himself, in his verdict on either of the cases, must renounce his opinion so far as it regards the legality of the question.

You go on to alledge the *antiquity* of the practice as a *confirmation* of your doctrine, whereby the very circumstance, that *aggravates* the evil, is made an argument to preclude the redress of it; that a *prescriptive* right has, indeed, been established in certain cases of *private* property, is un-

\* Whether, and *how far*, his ignorance and acting under the king's express commission, ought to operate as motives for *pardoning* him *after* condemnation, is intirely *another* question.

deniable,

deniable, but it can never *superfede* the common, natural rights of an innocent subject; besides which, it is held for a rule in *common law*, that *no length* of *possession*, taken by *violence*, can give a right,

It must be acknowledged indeed, but to the great *scandal* and *reproach* of the rest of the community, that, notwithstanding the “numberless opportunities that have  
“presented themselves, highly favourable  
“to public liberty, no successful attempt  
“has been made for the relief of the  
“subject in this article.” Such *humane* casuists might, with equal *charity*, argue, that a poor wretch, who had been long suffering under a cruel disorder, *ought* to be turned out of an hospital as *incurable*, because the physicians and surgeons, who attended there, had *never given themselves the trouble* to consider the *nature* of his

C 2

case,

case, or to prescribe any medicine for his relief.

If you really wished or expected, that the doctrine you have advanced should be accepted in a serious light, it would not have been much amiss to have given yourself the trouble of acquiring some *tolerable* information on the subject: you might *then* have discovered, in tracing back "this immemorial usage," that in the ancient warrants, the phrase of *impressing* men and of *prest* men was *synonymous* to the modern term of *inlissing*, which was formerly done by giving them *prest* money upon their *inlissing*, to *retain* them *afterwards* to the service, and *thereby* to render them liable to *punishment*, in case of *desertion*; which seems to have been very common among the sea-faring men in those times. This term was originally borrowed from the *imprest* office, from whence the money for that service was issued,  
and



and it is evidently owing to a long *abuse* of these warrants, that the idea of *compensation* has been annexed to it.

When we consider on whom the execution of these warrants devolved, together with the *obscurity, poverty* and *ignorance* of the aggrieved parties, it is *not* much to be *wondered* at, either that force should gradually grow into practice on these occasions, or that the violence should go *unredressed*, especially as these poor wretches are so *suddenly* cut off from all communication with their friends (if they happen to have any) by being put into a miserable dungeon, or immediately hurried on board the fleet.

Neither is it at all strange that this oppression should be *countenanced* by the *rest* of the community, since by winking at an evil, from which themselves were exempt, they

they consulted the *shortest, easiest and cheapest* course of providing for the security of their own persons and property.

How vain and unconsequential must your *superficial* declaration appear to those who have consulted the learned author of the commentaries on this subject ! That writer, notwithstanding his ample qualification, both in point of knowledge and abilities, to discuss so important a question, has delivered his sentiments with much *reserve* and *diffidence* ; and although he *intimates* an opinion, that some of the statutes seem to *imply* such a power in the crown, he *cautiously declines* pronouncing a *decisive* judgement on so *tender* a point ; the solution of which, it seems, was reserved for the sagacity of a Junius, who has luckily hit upon it, without the aid of a single argument.

The

The able writer abovementioned, in quoting the act of Richard II. which is in *French*, seems to ground his opinion on the interpretation of the word *arrester* in the preamble, which signifies to *hire* as well as to *arrest*; the matter of doubt therefore is, whether the *former* interpretation is not more consonant to the custom of giving *prest* money to those who lifted or engaged, in order to retain them in the service; and I will venture to appeal to so respectable an authority, whether an *implication* ought not to be allowed in favour of the subject, when there is any *ambiguity* in the terms or expressions of an act of parliament. To satisfy the reader that I do not misrepresent what he has said, I will here transcribe the learned Justice's own words on this subject, viz.

The



“ The power of impressing men \* for  
“ the sea service by the king’s commission,  
“ has been a matter of some dispute, and  
“ *submitted* to with great reluctance, though  
“ it hath very clearly and learnedly been  
“ shewn by Sir M. *Foster*, that the practice  
“ of impressing, and granting power to the  
“ admiralty for that purpose, is of very  
“ ancient date, and hath been uniformly  
“ continued by a regular series of prece-  
“ dents, to the present time ; whence he  
“ concludes it to be part of the common law.”

Now I beg leave to ask whether Mr.  
Justice Blackstone himself is of opinion,  
that it is part of the common law, and if  
he is, *why* he chose *not* to deliver that  
opinion ? I appeal likewise to that gentle-  
man, whether a series of precedents (*of vio-*

\* The Justice in quoting Sir M. Foster’s opinion,  
hath changed the word *mariners* into the *general* expres-  
sion *men*, I suppose by *mistake*.

lation of the constitution) which he allows to have *always* been a matter of *dispute*, and as uniformly resisted as exerted, are of sufficient weight and authority to be deemed part of the common law; if they are, then Master Bracton (whom this gentleman frequently quotes) is quite mistaken in asserting, *that no length of possession taken by violence can give a right*, which surely ought to be at least as valid with regard to liberty as to property. The learned Justice goes on thus: "The difficulty arises from hence; "that *no* statute has *expressly* declared this "power to be in the crown, though many "of them very strongly imply it. The statute 2 Richard II. chap. iv. speaks of "mariners being *arrested* \*, and retained for "the king's service, as of a thing well "known and practised without dispute; and

\* If it had coincided with the commentator's politics he would have taken care to remark, that the French word which is here translated *arrested*, signifies likewise *hired*, which interpretation agrees rather better with the custom of giving *prest* money to retain them.

“ provides a remedy against their running  
 “ away. By a statute of Philip and Mary,  
 “ if any Waterman who uses the river  
 “ Thames, shall hide himself during the  
 “ execution of pressing for the king’s ser-  
 “ vice, he is liable to heavy penalties. By  
 “ another of Queen Elizabeth, no fisher-  
 “ man shall be taken by the queen’s com-  
 “ mission to serve as a mariner, but the  
 “ commission shall be first brought to two  
 “ Justices of the peace inhabiting near the  
 “ sea coast where the mariners are to be  
 “ taken, to the intent that the Justices may  
 “ choose and return such a number of able  
 “ bodied Men as in the commission are  
 “ contained, to serve her Majesty. And by  
 “ statutes of William III. Anne, and  
 “ George II. especial protections are allowed  
 “ to seamen in particular circumstances, to  
 “ prevent them from being impressed: all  
 “ which do most evidently imply a power  
 “ of impressing to reside somewhere; and if  
 “ any



“ any where, it must, from the spirit of our  
 “ constitution, as well as from the *frequent*  
 “ *mention* of the king’s commission, reside  
 “ in the crown *alone*.”

Upon which quotation, I must take the liberty of making some Remarks: and first, that in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the imminent threats of invasion from so great a naval power as the king of Spain was master of at that period, together with the *many other* difficulties and dangers she and the commonwealth had to encounter with, might well justify some extraordinary measures, of which *many* precedents might be produced in her reign, that would not be endured, now.

2dly, That the frequent mention of the king’s commission is no proof of the power being in the crown *alone*, because all the executive commissions founded on the *joint*

authority of the three estates (king, lords and commons) run in the king's name.

3dly, As this learned author allows, that no statute *expressly declares* this power to be in the crown; I appeal to him, (upon his re-consideration of this point) whether *such* a power in the crown is not clearly negatived by Magna Charta?

4thly, Whether the king, lords and commons, as stewards of the peoples rights, can repeal that article of Magna Charta, which recognizes the personal liberty of the subject?

5thly, Whether it is consistent with the spirit of the constitution, to admit of any *implication* that is *directly contrary* to the *express* letter of the law?

6thly, Who are to be the expofitors in these cases, and where is the confusion to  
end,

end, if the *plainest* literal expressions may be explained diametrically *contradictory* to their *tenor*?

This learned author quotes a position of Bracton, that *Rex debet esse sub lege, quia lex facit regem, & nihil enim aliud potest rex, nisi id solum, quod de jure potest.* \*

The same writer, Vol. I. Book 1. Chap. i. speaking with reference to any strong suspicions the crown may have reason to entertain of the subject, secretly plotting against the state, and then putting the question, whether the strict laws of personal liberty may in such case be dispensed with, says, “ And yet sometimes, when the state is in *real* danger, even this may be a necessary measure; but the happiness of *our* constitution is, that it is *not* left to the *executive* power to *determine*,

\* The king ought to be *subject* to the law, because it is law that *makes* a king; and the king can do nothing, but what the law *permits* him to do.

when



when the danger is so great as to *justify* this expedient."

Now I appeal again (with great submission) to this gentleman, why the personal liberty of a subject, *whom* the chief magistrate has *good* grounds to suspect of *treasonable* designs, ought to be *more* sacred than that of one of the most valuable members of the commonwealth, who is perfectly innocent and *unsuspected*? and with *what* notions of justice and equity, *he* can reconcile the treatment of an *innocent* subject with a brutality, that is not suffered towards the *greatest* criminal; and *this too*, to engage him to perform the most important service to his very oppressors.

Does this learned Justice and his Reverend brethren *serve the state* upon such *self-denying* principles; or do these *equivocal* insinuations correspond with the character of  
an

an impartial judge, or an *ingenuous* and *candid* commentator on the laws ?

Moreover, as liberty is the most sacred right of the people, I appeal to the same author, whether it is not a downright absurdity, that the crown should have any prerogative to *controul* it, beyond what is derived from the *express* letter of the law ; *nor*, indeed, *can a law* (under our constitution) *have any validity*, which is *utterly inconsistent* with the *liberty* of the subject ; a proof of which may be drawn from the *present* times, in the instance of general warrants, which have been so lately exploded by the united voice of the community, by virtue whereof, an *act* of *parliament* passed in the reign of Charles II. *impowering* the *exchequer*, to grant *general warrants*, is absolutely deemed *null* and *void*, although it yet remains *unrepealed*.

It is well known that the Star-chamber and high commission courts had the sanction  
of

of an act of parliament ; but the preamble to the act, for abolishing one of those courts, recites the laws in favour of liberty as arguments for the repeal of the statute by which they had been established, thereby clearly *implying* that it was null and void *a priori*, as being wholly irreconcilable to the great character of our freedom.

Whoever therefore undertakes to maintain the legality of using force in impressing men, must not only produce some statute which *expressly* vests the king with such a prerogative, but must likewise prove, that the representatives of a free people have a right to sacrifice those *unalienable* \* rights and privileges

\* Junius, in his letter addressed to the supporters of the bill of rights, asserts, that (in this country) even the supreme, or whole legislative power, *viz.* king, lords, and commons, cannot disfranchise the subjects of their birth-rights, although it may be forfeited, or the exercise of it *suspended* in particular cases, and very justly remarks the dangerous tendency of *confounding* the term *supreme* with that of an *arbitrary* power.

Yet



leges of their constituents, the *maintainance* whereof was the *original* and chief object of *their own* institution.

Yet this writer, in asserting the *strict* right of pressing, acknowledges a *perpetual* right in the crown *alone* to suspend the birth-right of the whole body of common sailors, who, without even the pretence of suspected criminality, are treated like out-laws; in return for which treatment, the greatest possible services are expected by their benevolent Christian countrymen.

Let Junius compare the inhuman usage that accompanies this suspension of the sailors birth-right, with the injuries any set of men, in this kingdom, have *ever* received, even from the *worst* of our rulers, and then try if he can acquit himself of the charge of inconsistency in his political doctrines.

It seems to be an insuperable argument against those who maintain the world to be benefited by refinements, that the most polished and refined part of mankind have always taken advantage of their superior knowlege to oppress the rest of their species; and we see in the present instance, that they avail themselves of the poverty and illiteracy of these people to rob them of their birth-right, so that the circumstances instead of exciting their natural effect, *compassion*, produce the same consequences among the *civilized* part of mankind, that actual criminality would do.

Fortunately for their posterity, our glorious ancestors have expressed the manly sense of their rights in so strong and clear a stile, that it cannot be *evaded* or *pervverted* by the sophistry of a *prerogative* lawyer, much less can it be *invalidated* by the *capricious* voice of a crazy superannuated politician, or the *more shallow* assertions of a news-paper essayist.

It may, perhaps, appear superfluous to remind you, that I have waved the common privilege of disputants, by taking upon myself the proof of a negative, because there is so little merit in the concession, that the generality of readers will (in point of sagacity) hardly rank me above the level of one who should gravely undertake to prove that hunger was not an easy sensation, and that food was the natural means of removing it.

There

There is some praise, however, due to your consistency, since this doctrine suits well enough with that *pure* spirit of patriotism, which is so apt to blaze out upon the *loss* of power; but is always under such happy regulation as not to clash with some particular points, which are the *sine qua non* of all ministers: hence it is that *these gentlemen*, when they happen to be *driven* over to the popular side, *instead* of contending for a reformation of *those* abuses of the constitution, which are the *source* of all other evils, *viz.* the long duration of parliaments, and the *unbounded* influence of the crown by the admission of placemen, endeavour to *divert* the attention of the public *from* these grand objects, and by the most rancorous *incessant* personal slander, labour to fix their resentment on *their rivals* who are in power; *these renegadoe converts*, with the vision of their *future restoration* strongly impressed on their minds, and conscious of the part they mean to act, are



provident enough to *anticipate* the reproach of *apostacy*, by arguing with much hypocritical cant and solemnity, that it is *less* detrimental to the commonwealth to *acquiesce* with *these essential* grievances, than to *hazard* their redress, because *they* are under terrible concern, lest, from the depravity of human nature, some *new* species of corruption might *possibly* be introduced in its stead.

It was natural to imagine, that Junius would have become more cautious of offending in political points, after the *chastisement* he received some time ago from a certain *historian*, who is not much famed for *her* lenity towards this sort of culprits ; but he quite loses his patience, and begins to grow desperate, so that if the ministry have not mercy enough to take him in, the poor letter-writer himself, in six months, may probably be dating an essay in *defence* of *personal* liberty, from his cage in St. George's Fields.

But

But to resume the consideration of my subject; as to the *legality* of this oppression, by far the greatest part of mankind rarely seem to *trouble* themselves with inquiries about it, but think it sufficient to alledge the plea of necessity in its justification: instead therefore of formally denying the force of a term, which is applied with such *unwarrantable* latitude, and by which all argument is *arbitrarily* superseded; I shall beg leave to state a case, that I flatter myself, will amply illustrate the point in question.

Suppose the inhabitants of an island, in order to relieve themselves from the oppression of a despotic government, should be under the necessity of expelling their *natural* prince, and that, *previous* to the election of a successor, they should find it expedient to *renew* the declaration of their rights; that the *true* spirit of the constitution might be *restored*, and the government *re-established*, upon the most equitable and solid principles.

Imagine

Imagine likewise, this nation to be composed of 70 \* different classes of people, and that in order to form an assembly for adjusting the regulations of their future government, each class was to depute a representative to take care of their respective interests.

Moreover, that in such a convention it should be proposed and agreed to by 69 out of these 70 classes, that their *new* Monarch should be vested with a *discretionary* power, to seize the persons of the remaining class and compel them to engage in the defence of the commonwealth, without any *adequate* stipulation in their favour, whenever *he* apprehended it to be necessary, and that this *particular* class alone should be *for ever* subject to this partial oppression.

\* The comparative number of seamen to the whole inhabitants is computed to be about 1 part in 70, viz. 8 million and a half of inhabitants, whereof about 120,000 may be seafaring men.

It



It will be needless to recite the reasons alledged to prove the equity of such an ordinance, because it may be naturally supposed they will occur in the remonstrance their deputy would be prompted to make against it, which might perhaps be to the following effect.

“ The miseries we suffered under the oppressive administration of our late prince,  
 “ amply justify us in taking *every* precaution  
 “ to secure our liberty and property against  
 “ that insatiable thirst of power, which providence has been pleased to implant in  
 “ human beings; and therefore the wise  
 “ restrictions which you have *revived* to  
 “ *prevent* a repetition of these evils under  
 “ the prince we are about to *elect*, sufficiently evince the prudence of your constituents, in the choice of their representatives and claim their best acknowledgments.

I sin-

“ I sincerely lament to find that an arti-  
 “ cle hath occurred in your resolutions,  
 “ which forbids me to join in the general  
 “ suffrage of applause, and lays me under  
 “ the *painful* necessity of standing forth  
 “ *singly* to remonstrate against a stipulation,  
 “ which so *partially* excludes us from the  
 “ *general* rights of the community.

“ I am persuaded the candour of this as-  
 “ sembly will pardon the freedom that must  
 “ necessarily be used in discussing the argu-  
 “ ments, that have been advanced in sup-  
 “ port of your opinion; which, although  
 “ not wholly void of *plausibility*, are by no  
 “ means calculated to produce that convic-  
 “ tion, with which alone a *rational* being  
 “ ought to acquiesce.

“ You begin first by asserting the *natural*  
 “ obligation all states are under of defending  
 “ themselves against foreign injuries or at-  
 “ tacks. You maintain, that it is essential  
 to

“ to the executive part of all governments, to  
 “ have a *compulsive* power over the subject,  
 “ in cases of danger to the commonwealth.

“ You next take notice, that from the  
 “ circumstance of our insular situation, the  
 “ national security must depend on the ex-  
 “ ertion of our naval force; and then, after  
 “ modestly stating *your own ignorance* of a  
 “ science so *essential* to *your safety*, you with  
 “ equal *justice* and *humanity* decide, that  
 “ *these* circumstances constitute such a rea-  
 “ sonable plea of necessity, as gives you an  
 “ equitable right, to devote *our* lives to *your*  
 “ welfare, upon *your own* terms.

“ Your first assertion admits of no con-  
 “ troversy, being founded on one of the  
 “ original principles, on which all societies  
 “ were first instituted; and consequently,  
 “ your second position taken in a *general*  
 “ sense is true likewise; but accompanied  
 “ with this *restriction*, that such a power is  
 “ not to be extended to the *partial oppression*



“ of any particular branch of the community,  
 “ or *exerted* but in cases of *extreme* danger  
 “ and *absolute* necessity ; that is to say, *after*  
 “ the most *equitable* and *prudent* provisions  
 “ against such an emergency have proved  
 “ *ineffectual*.

“ Now it will not be difficult to shew,  
 “ that all our *former* oppressions, as well as  
 “ the present scheme of *intailing* them on  
 “ our profession, have taken their rise from  
 “ an *inadequate* and *inequitable* interpretation  
 “ of the term *necessity* ; in proof of which,  
 “ it will be requisite to take in several con-  
 “ siderations : and first, it is to be remem-  
 “ bered, that the *obligation* of defending the  
 “ state is grounded on the benefits, *indivi-*  
 “ *duals* are supposed to reap from their *union* ;  
 “ and of course the *measure* of this obliga-  
 “ tion is determined by the *proportion* of  
 “ advantage each member derives from this  
 “ union.

“ Premising

“ Premising therefore our undoubted title  
 “ to the *same* privileges and immunities  
 “ with the rest of our fellow subjects, a cir-  
 “ cumstance which, unluckily for us, *you*  
 “ are apt to *lose sight of*, let us join issue  
 “ upon this point.

“ On the one part, besides the hazardous  
 “ nature of *our* occupation, the discipline  
 “ and subordination, which are unavoidable  
 “ on board a ship, gives *our* service a *tincture*  
 “ of *slavery*, even in peaceable times, for  
 “ which we are rewarded with *coarse* fare,  
 “ *scanty* pay, and the humble satisfaction  
 “ of reflecting how much we contribute to  
 “ *your* greatness.

“ On the other hand, what a favourable  
 “ *reverse* of circumstances attends your si-  
 “ tuation ; with the most *perfect* state of li-  
 “ berty, you enjoy wealth, plenty, and lux-  
 “ ury ; you have the whole government of  
 “ the state with the emoluments attending

“ it ; and in short, are in full possession  
 “ of every blessing a flourishing country  
 “ can afford, without any *comparative* supe-  
 “ riority of merit to intitle you to this happy  
 “ distinction. If this be a true state of the  
 “ comparison between us (and that it is so  
 “ is *self evident*) it is not easy to conceive  
 “ with what ideas of *equity* you could frame  
 “ *such a proposal* ; altho’ there is no possibility  
 “ of doubting what *notion* you must entertain of  
 “ *our* intellects, in expecting us to acquiesce  
 “ with it.\* Upon what pretensions can you  
 “ found this extraordinary claim to the dis-  
 “ posal of *our* lives and liberty ? Is it a *na-*  
 “ *tural* appendage to the other *exclusive* ad-  
 “ vantages you enjoy ? Or is it a preroga-  
 “ tive annexed to an opinion of the immense  
 “ *superiority* of *your own* consequence ?

“ Is there no *possibility* of suggesting a  
 “ *milder* and more *generous* alternative for  
 “ your preservation ? Is it consistent, either

\* Quæ enim est *conditio* societatis, in *qua* ei, cum  
 quo, societatem facias *nihil* concedi potest.

“ with



“ with *wisdom* or *humanity*, to adopt so  
 “ cruel a practice even to *slaves* without be-  
 “ ing convinced, by *repeated* experiments, of  
 “ the *inefficacy* of *all other* methods.

“ Have your sage lawyers and statesmen  
 “ (*so dexterous upon other occasions*) exhaust-  
 “ ed their invention in a *fruitless search*  
 “ after some expedient, that should be more  
 “ suitable to the lenity of our constitution,  
 “ and the tenderness of the legislature in *all*  
 “ other cases of personal liberty? And even  
 “ if you *had complied* with all this, still let  
 “ me ask *what motive* have we to prompt  
 “ us to this service, unless we are so *prepos-*  
 “ *terously* disinterested as to prefer your *wel-*  
 “ *fare* to our own *personal safety*? Where  
 “ can we be supposed to acquire such ge-  
 “ *nerous* sentiments? Are we taught them  
 “ from *your* example, in the *noble bounty* you  
 “ offer for the greatest sacrifice, one human  
 “ being can make for another? We are  
 “ con-

“ convinced from bitter experience, how  
 “ very cheap you hold our mental faculties,  
 “ but is it possible you should think them  
 “ depraved or dissipated to such a degree,  
 “ as to believe that we exist *merely* as the  
 “ *creatures* of *your* convenience, as if all re-  
 “ gard to *our own* well-being was to be *ab-*  
 “ *forbed* by the *sole* consideration of your  
 “ ease and aggrandisement? What a ridicu-  
 “ lous farce it is to talk to us of *our* king  
 “ and country, and happy constitution; we  
 “ have nothing to *lose* or to *suffer* if your  
 “ enemies were to prove victorious; nor have  
 “ we any thing in *prospect* by conquering  
 “ them, but to return to our old occupa-  
 “ tion. You savagely deprive us of our liber-  
 “ ty: property we have none: so that *we*  
 “ have no motive for preferring our own  
 “ king\* to the king of France, or the Pre-

\* That king must be a fool as well as a tyrant, who  
 should expect from the *grosslest* violation of his subjects  
 rights, that they would become *such fools* as to sacrifice  
 their lives in defence of his.

“ tender ;

“ tender ; and our condition becomes infi-  
 “ nitely *worse* than that of the poor as in  
 “ the fable, from the *consciousness* of being  
 “ oppressed by *those* from whom we have  
 “ the strongest claim of benevolence. In  
 “ short, whether or not, we have any sen-  
 “ sations of right or wrong, pleasure or mi-  
 “ sery, seems to be a matter of no con-  
 “ cern to you, all *scruples* on those points  
 “ being *easily* solved by the *necessity* we are  
 “ under of *submitting* to *superior* force, that  
 “ grand arbiter of all difficulties.

“ Whatever may be the issue of your re-  
 “ solutions on this subject, I am determined,  
 “ at least, to shew, we are *not* blind to the  
 “ injustice of your *arbitrary* proceedings,  
 “ by *protesting* against the privilege you  
 “ would arrogate to yourselves, of compelling  
 “ us to acquiesce with an oppression, which  
 “ with such partial cruelty excludes *us* from  
 “ the common rights of your society.

“ Do



“ Do you think it possible *we should fail*  
 “ to remark, with how little remorse and  
 “ generosity, you sacrifice us to your own  
 “ *measureless* self-regard ?

“ Is it reasonable to exact such *extraor-*  
 “ *dinary* instances of *self-denial* from us, when  
 “ you are carried to such *prodigious* lengths  
 “ by the *opposite* principle ?

“ How came you to *assume* the prerogative  
 “ of *allotting* us, all the *danger* and *hardship*,  
 “ and reserving *all the blessings* to yourselves ?  
 “ Have we *forfeited* our *birth-right* ? *Ubi*  
 “ *lapsus* ? *Quid fecimus* ?

“ Omitting the consideration of our *extra-*  
 “ *ordinary* importance in time of *war*, it will  
 “ be no vanity to assert, that (excepting  
 “ those who are employed in agriculture)  
 “ out of upwards of eight millions of inha-  
 “ bitants, which our country is supposed to  
 “ contain, you *cannot select* a number, equal

“ to

“ to ours, from whom the state derives so  
 “ much advantage.

“ What ideas must we entertain of your  
 “ kindness, your equity, or your generosity,  
 “ when we compare the *execrable* alternative  
 “ you offer us for the *most important* services,  
 “ with the wealth, the luxury, the ease, and  
 “ the indulgence you enjoy; and which  
 “ you think yourselves amply intitled to,  
 “ without any personal hazard, and in many  
 “ cases, *without any exertion* of your talents,  
 “ to obtain them.

“ Do any of your numerous professions  
 “ serve the state upon such *disinterested* prin-  
 “ ciples? Have you ordained, that the con-  
 “ tractors for victualling your fleets and fur-  
 “ nishing military stores, (instead of grow-  
 “ ing rich by their bargains) shall be obliged  
 “ to supply the government upon such terms  
 “ as the minister thinks fit to prescribe?  
 “ Why should every other member of the

“ community be at liberty to make his own  
 “ conditions when the state solicits his ser-  
 “ vice? Nay, are there not frequent in-  
 “ stances, of wretches among you, taking  
 “ advantages of the distress of their country,  
 “ to gratify the insatiable avarice\* of their  
 “ dispositions?

“ Is it not most *insolent* mockery, to give  
 “ us the appellation of *fellow* subjects and  
 “ *free-born* Englishmen, under the circum-  
 “ stances of being *tenants at will* of our liberty

\* It is said, that upon a late rumour of a war, a cer-  
 tain little baronet took the opportunity, which an im-  
 mense command of ready money gives, to monopolize  
 all the hemp that could be purchased, with a view of re-  
 tailing it to the government, at an exorbitant rate: this  
 circumstance reminds one of what is related of the aban-  
 doned behaviour of some hardened wretches, at the time  
 the plague raged at Marseilles; who, in the midst of that  
 horrid distress, took the advantage of the helpless condition  
 of their neighbours, to pilfer their goods while they lay  
 on their death beds! One cannot help remarking, on this  
 occasion, how long it is, before *acquired* wealth, or new-  
 bought titles, can eradicate those *mean* and *sordid* ideas,  
 which are so frequently to be met with in people of base  
 minds, and a *groveling* extraction.

“ and



“ and existence ; the tenure whereof is de-  
 “ terminable by every incident that furnishes  
 “ a minister with a *pretence* of being alarmed  
 “ for the preservation of *your* property ?

“ As *free members* of the constitution, is  
 “ it not reasonable we should be impressed  
 “ with the *consciousness* of duty, in fighting  
 “ the battles of the state ?

“ Is such unnatural treatment from our  
 “ countrymen likely to *produce* the idea of  
 “ *such an obligation* ? On the contrary, is it  
 “ not *provocation enough* to make us regard  
 “ you with the *utmost detestation* ?

“ With what conscience (if we were to  
 “ reflect) could we take arms, for the de-  
 “ struction of people who have never injured  
 “ us, in defence of those who are our most  
 “ *merciless oppressors* ?

“ We are wholly at a loss to conceive,  
 “ from *what principles* of natural or political

“ law the obligation is deduced, by virtue  
 “ whereof you think we are *bound* to sacri-  
 “ fice our being in defence of a system,  
 “ *from which* we not only *derive no* benefit,  
 “ but where *our capacity* to perform the  
 “ greatest services to the state, instead of  
 “ being *rewarded*, is by the rest of the com-  
 “ munity *converted* into an argument for  
 “ the most savage oppression, that *they* may  
 “ enjoy an *uninterrupted* scene of felicity :  
 “ can you imagine we are so *stupid* and  
 “ senseless as to believe that your happiness  
 “ *ought* to be of more importance to us  
 “ than our own ? the *unbounded selfishness* of  
 “ your own ideas, forbids your entertaining  
 “ such a notion.

“ Have we a claim to a *rational solution*  
 “ of these objections ? or are we to be  
 “ *silenced* by the term *necessity*, as if there  
 “ was a *magic* in the *mere* word, that de-  
 “ stroyed the force of all reasoning ?

“ We

“ We desire, at least, to have an *avowed*  
 “ *written definition* of this term, that we  
 “ may *understand* the *measure* of our sub-  
 “ mission, and whether in *any* case we  
 “ may *presume* to *resist* the russians you let  
 “ loose against us.

“ You use so little ceremony in annihi-  
 “ lating our privileges, that we shall with-  
 “ out any apology take the freedom of  
 “ scrutinizing somewhat more minutely into  
 “ the *merits* of your title to that wealth that  
 “ gives you the *presumption* to offer us so  
 “ *abject* a proposal, as well as of the *means*  
 “ you have employed to acquire it.

“ Your nobles and gentry are, for the  
 “ most part, in possession of the landed  
 “ estates, which, although *originally* ac-  
 “ quired by a successful application to some  
 “ profession, are devolved to the *present* race  
 “ by inheritance.

“ Your



“ Your merchants and other traders owe  
 “ their immense fortunes to traffic, or to  
 “ the retailing of various commodities,

“ Multitudes beside, enjoy profuse salaries  
 “ and perquisites in your numberless offices,  
 “ although the business thereof goes on in  
 “ such a common *place* track, that a school-  
 “ boy of moderate talents would be quali-  
 “ fied for it in a month's practice, while the  
 “ *upper* departments, to which the *greatest*  
 “ emoluments are annexed, become absolute  
 “ sine-cures.

“ What an exorbitant share of wealth is  
 “ drained from community by that *endless*  
 “ tribe, the retainers to the law, whose  
 “ venality in becoming the alternate advo-  
 “ cates of justice and iniquity, tends to con-  
 “ found all principles, and to render all  
 “ things as precarious as their own litigious  
 “ and sophistical altercations,

“ How

“ How much is dedicated, to the sup-  
 “ port of the dignified part of your clergy,  
 “ in the licentious neglect and contempt of  
 “ the duties of their function; and while these  
 “ ungracious pastors have hardly humanity  
 “ enough to afford a bare subsistence to their  
 “ needy brethren, for relieving them from  
 “ the drudgery of their profession, they are  
 “ consuming the *unhallowed surplus* of their  
 “ income, in idle *dissipation*, or *boarding* it in  
 “ their uncharitable coffers \*.

“ Are not your cooks, jockies, players,  
 “ pimps, agents, fiddlers, fingers, dancing-  
 “ masters, and in short all your other pro-

\* Do not these reverend gentlemen by such shameless  
 conduct plainly announce to the world, that *they them-*  
*selves* esteem their whole religious system as a *mere*  
 political establishment? Are they likely to gain much  
 credit with their flock, when they in their annual visits  
 are labouring to enforce a belief of the importance of a  
 future existence; while they themselves are flighting and  
 renouncing that doctrine, in their actions, by a total at-  
 tention to the pleasures and emoluments of their present  
 state?

“ feffions.

" pensions amply rewarded and provided for ;  
 " not to mention the sums that are annually  
 " lavished among your *prostitute* senators, or  
 " in pensions to your apostate patriots and  
 " others, whom an *occasional* minister is  
 " obliged to *buy* out, in order to obtain a  
 " provision for some few of his own *unim-*  
 " *portant* connexions.

" Such are the *respectable* characters of  
 " this group, who *dictate* to us the *duty* of  
 " sacrificing our beings, that they may not  
 " be disturbed in the enjoyment of their  
 " pleasure and their property.

" Such is the superior merit and impor-  
 " tance of those, who sharing all the *emo-*  
 " *luments* of the state among *themselves*,  
 " with equal modesty, *generosity* and equity  
 " offer us a premium of *forty* or *fifty* shil-  
 " lings \* to expose ourselves to be knocked  
 " on

\* I should be glad to ask certain gentlemen, how  
 much their country has been benefited by their patriotic  
 speeches



“ on the head for the preservation all that  
 “ is dear to them.

“ Is it possible to listen, with any tolerable  
 “ degree of patience, to the impertinence of  
 “ those *purse-proud* wretches among you, who  
 “ with a mixture of ignorance and self-im-  
 “ portance, *presume* to talk of the necessity  
 “ of this measure? Can one forbear remon-  
 “ strating to a wealthy shopkeeper on such  
 “ an occasion to this effect? Sir, you may,  
 “ perhaps, have acquired ten thousand  
 “ pounds by *your business*, without any ha-  
 “ zard of your person, and may, probably,  
 “ by the same means, increase it to ten  
 “ times that sum; you are in all points at  
 “ perfect liberty to continue in your occu-  
 “ pation or to quit, and no man *dare* violate  
 “ the property you have *thus* accumulated;

speeches for which they have been so handsomely re-  
 warded? Or whether Mr. ——— thinks *himself* over-  
 paid by his palace and estate at ——— for the services  
 that he did to his fellow citizens *here*, by his *honourable*  
 connexions with that *worthy* French banker Mr. P——.

H

“ now

" now if you think yourself *well* intitled to  
 " these *large* acquisitions for spending your  
 " time *behind a counter*, what *overbearing*  
 " arrogance and selfishness must possess you,  
 " to expect, that I, who am as *free-born* as  
 " yourself, should devote my life and liberty  
 " for so *trifling* a consideration, purely that  
 " *such* wretches as you may enjoy your pos-  
 " sessions in safety?

" What is *your merit* in retailing cloth,  
 " or plumbs, or silk, *compared with ours*,  
 " in *defending* our country at the *peril* of  
 " our lives? If you were to perform the  
 " same services, I should be glad to know  
 " how much of the national wealth would  
 " suffice to answer your ideas, if you hap-  
 " pened to be your own paymasters?

" May not this remonstrance be applied  
 " with *equal justice to every other class* that

" I have enumerated?

" That

" That you are actuated by the strongest  
 " *personal* motives I readily acknowledge,  
 " because you are in possession of all that  
 " can make life desirable, and therefore it  
 " is not altogether unnatural that you should  
 " endeavour to retain those blessings, espe-  
 " cially if you can contrive to do it without  
 " any *trouble* or *hazard* to yourselves, but  
 " why will you not allow us to feel a  
 " *touch* of your *condition*, in being operated  
 " upon by self-love ?

" We are not *inconscious* of that equality  
 " which the laws of the constitution intitle  
 " us to, which make *personal* liberty at least  
 " as sacred as *property* : and we are more-  
 " over informed, that the writers on na-  
 " tural and and political law, have pro-  
 " nounced that no *single member* of a so-  
 " ciety, much less a *large body*, can intirely  
 " forego their own interest and well-being  
 " *for ever*, in compliment to the rest of the



“ community ; such renunciation being al-  
 “ most self-evidently void, as being *incom-*  
 “ *patible* with a rational existence.

“ In expatiating thus largely on this sub-  
 “ ject, I hope to have made it appear tole-  
 “ rably plain, that your interpretation of  
 “ the term necessity may be *fairly* resolved  
 “ into two propositions (to which no rea-  
 “ sonable being can assent) *viz.* That it is  
 “ necessary *you* should live in a state of opu-  
 “ lence, luxury, &c. and that it is necessary,  
 “ *we* should dedicate our *whole* existence to  
 “ *procure and preserve* to you the *enjoyment*  
 “ of those blessings in *safety*.

“ I have heard with no small contempt,  
 “ some *trifling* retainers to this opinion assert,  
 “ that it is *our* business to suggest an alter-  
 “ native, and that if *we cannot*, you have a  
 “ *right* to compel us to submit ; which  
 “ mode of arguing appears just as reason-  
 “ able, as that a great man in the country,  
 “ should

“ should have a *right* in *cold* weather to send  
 “ his domestics to *unthatch* his *poor* *neigh-*  
 “ *bour's* *cottage*, for fuel to kindle *his* fires,  
 “ *because* the other was *not* *able* to *resist*, or  
 “ to *inform* them, where they might go and  
 “ get furze with *as little* trouble.

“ There are others, however, who have  
 “ *candour* enough to argue from what they  
 “ esteem *parallel* cases; for instance, they  
 “ mention the circumstance of a gentleman,  
 “ who takes a hungry dog into his family,  
 “ where he is chained up in the day-time  
 “ and fed upon bare bones, and dry crusts,  
 “ and at night is let loose to defend the hen-  
 “ roosts, and to keep off thieves and house-  
 “ breakers. Now, say they, there is no dis-  
 “ puting the 'squire's right to order his ser-  
 “ vants to hang or knock the poor devil  
 “ on the head; to which argument I am not  
 “ much disposed to reply (although it must  
 “ be owned to be the fairest that has been  
 “ produced)

“ produced) partly because I do not readily  
 “ comprehend the *aptness* of the similitude,  
 “ and partly, because some persons may be  
 “ inclined to think it *magnifies* our impor-  
 “ tance too much.

“ When you plead your incapacity of de-  
 “ fending yourselves from an *ignorance* of  
 “ naval affairs, in the name of common  
 “ sense, may we not justly retort *that* argu-  
 “ ment, as the most shameful reproach of  
 “ your negligence ?

“ If we are content to earn a *bare subsis-*  
 “ *tance* by the practice of this profession,  
 “ and have *nothing at stake*, how much more  
 “ does it behove you, who are so *deeply in-*  
 “ *terested*, to qualify yourselves to defend  
 “ your own possessions ? You have every  
 “ thing valuable to hazard, while we have  
 “ nothing either in possession or reversion,  
 “ to stimulate us to such desperate services.

“ If



" If you cannot spare hands from your  
 " manufactories, retrench the train of your  
 " supernumerary domestics; reduce the un-  
 " necessary numbers of those who are em-  
 " ployed in your various offices; let your  
 " young men of rank and fortune (as in  
 " Queen Elizabeth's time) apply themselves  
 " to the study and practice of a science so  
 " honourable in itself, and so essential to the  
 " preservation of their possessions, they may  
 " still have time enough to devote to hunt-  
 " ing, racing, dancing, fencing, gambling,  
 " dressing, and to their common debauches  
 " and amusements.

" When you alledge, that by taking hands  
 " from your manufactories to increase the  
 " number of seamen, you *inban* the na-  
 " tional expence, and at the same time *les-*  
 " sen the fund for supporting it; I deride  
 " the *insolence* of your argument, as if we  
 " were bound to undergo *all extremities*, ra-  
 " ther

"ther than you should endure the *least dimi-*  
 "nution of your wealth and grandeur. Be-  
 "side, that this argument has not wanted  
 "a refutation (upon your own Maxim)  
 "from the consideration of the injury done  
 "to trade, by the *sudden detention* of so ma-  
 "ny vessels, after they are freighted; where-  
 "by the merchant is liable to have his com-  
 "modities greatly damaged, as well as  
 "perhaps to lose his market for them; and  
 "if this were *not* a sufficient answer,  
 "suspend your argument until there ceases to  
 "be a fund, from the scandalous *want* of  
 "economy, in the whole detail of your *in-*  
 "ternal policy, and from the enormous *su-*  
 "perfluity of wealth, with which so many  
 "among you abound.

"I shall now close what I had to ad-  
 "vance on this subject, by offering it to your  
 "serious consideration, whether it does not  
 "become so great and opulent a nation, whose  
 "welfare

“ *welfare* and *preservation* depends so much  
 “ on a maritime force, to appropriate some  
 “ part of her vast revenues to the support of  
 “ such a *constant* number of seamen, as will  
 “ not *expose* her, upon every *alarm* of public  
 “ danger, to the *odious* and *unseemly* necessity  
 “ of violating the most sacred part of her  
 “ constitution, in the persons of those who  
 “ form one of the most *valuable* branches of  
 “ the commonwealth.”

This is the substance of what may be sup-  
 posed to have been delivered, by a man of  
 plain sense, in supporting the rights of him-  
 self and his brethren, against the ungenerous  
 hardships imposed on them by the rest of  
 the community ; wherein although there may  
 appear to be somewhat of tautology and want  
 of method, yet as the *arguments themselves*  
 are too *just* to be *controuled* or *refuted*, those  
 imperfections may be easily passed over, es-  
 pecially in a seafaring man.



Upon the whole, no man can be weak enough to controvert the right that the executive part of government ought to have, of exercising such a power, in cases of *real* necessity : but I appeal to every candid, sensible man, whether it is not a *monstrous* reproach to the policy of a commercial and *free* country, whose inhabitants affect to extol with so much parade, the superior *excellence* of their *constitution*, not to *guard against* the necessity of such a *barbarous* practice, especially when there is so *obvious* an expedient \* for *preventing* it ; nor indeed *can* such a necessity *ever* be said to exist, but *when* all *reasonable provisions*, that a wise government can substitute, *have failed*, and in *those* cases, a British sailor is so far from wanting extraordinary encouragement to incite him to his duty, that

\* Can it be said, that (in the whole detail of government expence) an annual sum equivalent to what would be requisite for the remedy of this evil, (by increasing our constant naval establishment) is applied in *any other* instance with *equal* benefit to the commonwealth.

his

his *generous* alacrity is rather apt to carry him to works of supererrogation.

Notwithstanding the English value themselves so highly on their humanity and the *equity* of their government, it is justly observed by foreigners, that in *this instance* we are guilty of the most *absurd* and *cruel* tyranny towards the most meritorious branch of the community; and that in thus *steeling* our hearts against the sufferings of our *defenders*, and by making our estimate of the public good, with an *exclusion* of all regard to *their* welfare, we renounce all obligations of humanity, and gratitude, as well as of their legal rights, although (as they justly remark) our senate is multiplying statutes without end, for regulating every *trivial* article of *accommodation* for the *rest* of the society.

In short, it is evident from the *brutal selfishness*, wherewith we sacrifice this deserving set of people to our own ease and advantage, that, with all the boasted good qualities of

Englishmen, *no degree* of cultivation can thoroughly eradicate the *natural savageness* of our disposition; nor can their need a stronger proof of this observation, than that the helpless poverty and ignorance of the sufferers, instead of *exciting* an attention to their *relief*, operates with us only as an inducement to *aggravate* and *confirm* their oppressions.

I am by no means contending against that unavoidable inequality of circumstance, which must necessarily happen in all societies, or that these people should become rich and great; *that is hardly* practicable, although I shall not allow it to be for want of *equal* pretensions with the rest of their neighbours: but however *contemptible* their *poverty* and *helpless situation* may render them in the estimation of *aspiring men*, I cannot help thinking it might become them, to mingle so much humanity with their ambitious pursuits, as to abolish this cruel expedient, and by the *libera-*

*lity*



lity of their encouragement and a proper attention to their welfare, afford them some *rational* inducement to become the defenders of their country, which is more indebted to them than to all the peers, senators and ministers that ever existed.

Notwithstanding the *illiberal* and *evasive* shyness, with which some slavish advocates have *insinuated* their arbitrary opinions on this head; from the venal apprehensions (I suppose) of spoiling their prospect of preferment, by giving an opinion that might be offensive to the court and ministry \*, I shall

\* There is no instance hardly that can place the professors of the law in a more odious and contemptible light, than the *partiality* of their *equivocal* declarations on this measure, towards the *arbitrary* side of the question: it is hardly to be credited, that among so numerous a herd there should not be one (in so long a series of time) of any eminence, that has ever been *honest* and *disinterested* enough to stand forth as a champion in defence of the rights of these valuable but helpless people, against the *inhuman* oppressions of their fellow-subjects: at the same time, that when a *wealthy* commoner or a peer becomes their client, there is no chicane or sophistry they would

not

shall make no scruple to announce in the plainest terms, my sense of the rights of a free-born subject, by asserting, that if I were a common sailor, innocent and unaccused of any crime against my king and country, and any monarch of these realms (without any addition to the *present* prerogative of the crown, and with *no better* pretence of state necessity, than occurred *when* the *last* press warrants were issued) should hereafter think proper, so far to *violate* his coronation oath, as to make a *personal* attempt to deprive me, by violence, of my liberty; I should (under such circumstances) consider myself as *justified* by the *laws* of the land, in *resisting* not exert in defending a cause that was ever so clearly unjust or infamous.

I heartily wish that this censure from an obscure individual was likely to affect these gentlemen, enough to prompt them to a generous exertion of their talents for the redress of so plain and flagrant a breach of the constitution; nor could any thing give me greater pleasure, than to have an occasion to retract this reproach, although the circumstances were to be ever so humiliating.

him

him to the *utmost*, although I may think proper at the same time to add, that I should practice so much forbearance as to *wave* my privilege, rather than carry it to such extremity as to offer him any personal injury, if it were possible to be avoided.

I am not insensible of my own hazard, if this assertion were not *strictly* conformable to the laws of our constitution; but in a firm reliance on my motto, I am perfectly easy on that point, leaving it to those adroit prerogative advocates, Lord Mansfield, with his Attorney and Solicitor-general, to make the most of it.

If the ministry should presume to censure me for licentious boldness, in making such a declaration of the subject's right, I have no other apology, than to place it to the account of their own audacity and *unprincipled* conduct, in taking the advantage of the easy  
dispo-



disposition of their royal master, to lead him into such errors.

I cannot however, but take notice, that those who attempt to exculpate their prince, upon the plea of his *ignorance* in so sacred a point, and in a case where it is so *perfectly clear*, pay him but a poor compliment in their defence; neither is it possible, hardly, to suppose, that a king, even with the most *slender* abilities, who has such an *excess* of *piety* as to entertain an *implacable* enmity to *certain* persons for the *immorality* of their characters, can be *ignorant* of that of *his own ministers* since the *same* channel is open for information with regard to one as the other, and the *obligations* as to the *latter* much more interesting.

How then can a subject with the *most partial* predilection in favour of a prince, reconcile to the *sincerity* of his professions, the  
*choice*

*choice* of the most *profligate*, and *abandoned* wretch, in his dominions, to *preside* in one of the most consequential departments of his ministry. It were to be wished, for the honour of the present reign, that this hoary debauchee, might have gone to his own place without a *rival* in iniquity ; and indeed it could hardly have been otherwise, if his *young colleague* in office had not lately started up to *dispute* the palm of *infamy* with him.

Being wholly unconnected with any party, either in or out of administration, I cannot be supposed, to have written this from any motive of *personal* spleen ; nor have I the smallest apprehension, that any thing here said, is likely to *give offence* to either of *these* gentlemen, who are so much the *counterparts* of the celebrated Marquis of Wharton, of whom Swift says, “ He was without the sense of shame or glory, as some men are without the sense of smelling,

K

“ and

“ and therefore a good name to him is  
 “ no more than a precious ointment would  
 “ be to these.”

There is no man entertains more *respectable* sentiments, of the *amiable qualities* of his majesty's heart, than myself; but as they are *liable* to be much *imposed* on, I cannot conclude this digression better, than by a quotation from an ingenious author, who wrote under an arbitrary government, which is *extremely applicable* to a British king, in the choice of his ministers.

“ In England, it is very common to  
 “ charge the faults of the prince to the  
 “ ministers, and I own that very often,  
 “ the charge is just; but the crimes of  
 “ the ministers do not *always* excuse the  
 “ faults of the sovereign; for after all,  
 “ princes have reason and understanding

“ as



“ as well as *other* people, and are masters  
 “ to do as *they please* : if they let them-  
 “ selves be *too much* governed by those  
 “ who have the *freest* access to them, it  
 “ is *their* fault ; they ought on several oc-  
 “ casions, to *see* with *their own* eyes, and  
 “ not be *led by the nose* by a *vicious* and  
 “ *interested* courtier ; but if they are *inca-*  
 “ *pable* to manage matters themselves, and  
 “ to *distinguish* good from evil, they ought  
 “ to *resign* the care of government to others  
 “ that *are* capable ; for I do not know,  
 “ why we may not apply to princes, who  
 “ *govern ill*, the saying of Charles Borro-  
 “ meus, in respect to bishops, who do not  
 “ take care to feed their flock properly ;  
 “ If they are *incapable* of such employ-  
 “ ment, why so *much* ambition ? If they  
 “ *are* capable, why so *much* neglect ?”

How must it excite the indignation of  
 a liberal mind, to behold the rights and

privileges of *more* than one hundred thousand of the bravest, most useful, and most disinterested subjects the world ever produced, *trampled upon*, by an *itinerant* state-quack, \* who not content with the tolerable subsistence, he had earned by *backney* speech-making, in a neighbouring country, wanders over hither, and upon the strength of a little success, in selling what he did *not* possess, *erects himself* into a first-rate politician, and with most *solemn* impudence, presumes to *give sentence*, against the most sacred part of our constitutional establishment. Does he think that a whole nation, are to be infatuated by a few tinsel phrases, as if *all* our understandings were to be estimated from that of a *few silly* women.

Not that it is to be inferred, from the *derision* of this man's *affected* importance, that we are at all more disposed, to ac-

\* Junius.

quiesce with the *frantic* decisions of a brainfick, fractious old peer, who has *changed* his principles (*as they are called*) much *oftener* than he has *paid* his debts; or that we should subscribe to the more artful chicane of a court lawyer, the *pu-sillanimity* of whose *heart* seems kindly intended by Providence, as a *check* to the *mischievous* qualities of his head\*.

I shall now take leave of you and my subject, with a little hint of advice, which is, that your friends are very anxious, that you should *retire* to our *sister* nation, and bestow the remainder of your time, in *emulating* the virtues of her *late defunct* patriot, as they are under strong apprehensions, that you are *exhausting* all your topics of abuse, with *no other* prospect, than that of sharing the same fate with *your prototype* Mr. Wilkes: but if they cannot prevail so far as this, they wish at

\* L. C. and L. M. who with so much insolence, asserted the right of pressing in the House of Lords.



least, that you would leave off, that impertinent, *empty* jargon, about *impeachments*, and pledging yourself to *your country*; since people who are *only* acquainted with the place of your *nativity*, are at a loss to comprehend your meaning; while those who are rightly informed as to your political views, and the *pliant* philanthropy of your temper, have already anticipated the *honourable* figure, you are likely to exhibit, some time or other, at the levees of *those*, who *at present*, are the greatest objects of your *reprobation*; provided they have *weakness* or *placability* enough, in their dispositions, to listen to the *private* intimations, whereby you *meanly attempt* to exculpate yourself, from the odium of your *rancorous* productions, in the repetition of which, you have gone so far *beyond* Mr. Wilkes, that the nation cannot fail to observe, how much *you* have *benefited* by *his* example in *passing over*

Lord

Lord Bute so lightly, from which circumstance, it manifestly appears, how much safer it is to abuse the sovereign than his favourite.

*F I N I S.*

Love this is light, from which  
Catherine is manifestly afraid, how  
much later it is to show the  
first of the family



Lord Bute so lightly, from which circumstance, it manifestly appears, how much safer it is to abuse the sovereign than his favourite.

K I N G

2 1 2

**T**HE decent respect which policy has wisely established towards the person of a monarch, hath been carried to such an excess of servile servility and adulation, by the dependents on a court, that the bulk of mankind, whom fate and ceremony keeps at a distance, are almost persuaded that their rulers are of a superior species of existence, not recollecting or observing, that the idol which they have set up, is subject to as many imperfections as themselves, and that his weakness, failures and bad qualities are rather enhanced than corrected. **L**ord Bute he has picked up from the lessons of his servile tutors or a stupid page, most of his time being chiefly engrossed by

POSTSCRIPT.

TO THE

K I N G.

S I R,

**T**HE decent respect which policy has wisely established towards the *office* of a chief magistrate, hath been carried to such an excess of *personal* servility and adulation, by the dependents on a court, that the bulk of mankind, whom state and ceremony keeps at a distance, are almost persuaded, that their Rulers are of a superior species of existence; not recollecting or observing, that the Idol which they have set up, is subject to as many imperfections as themselves; and that his *natural* frailties and bad qualities are rather *cultivated* than *corrected* by the education he can pick up from the lessons of his servile tutors or a stupid page, most of his time being chiefly engrossed by

by the latter, who generally happens to be a *supernumerary footman* of some nobleman about the court: but as your Majesty has experienced the inconvenience of this in your own case, we may reasonably hope you will take care to guard against it, in the tuition of your own progeny.

I thought it necessary to premise this observation, in order to obviate that undistinguishing censure, that is generally bestowed on private persons, when they venture to give their sentiments on the conduct of their governors, who would gladly have it taken for granted, that an exclusive knowledge is annexed to their office; although if that were the case, there is some reason to wonder, that power should have changed hands so frequently, since your Majesty's accession.

Having said thus much by way of introduction to my subject, I shall proceed to inform you, that this address, is in behalf of the body of common sailors, who, besides the *general* claim of their birth-right, are as well intitled, from *particular* merit and utility, to



your protection, as any other branch of the community.

I shall not adopt the stile of a venal faction by railing at your minister, because there seems to be little probability of the nation being benefited by a change; but will endeavour to illustrate my argument, by an instance, which is greatly to the *discredit* of the *last* reign, thereby *conforming*, in some degree, to the *decent* practice of *your* courtiers, who were early taught by the precept and example of your favourite, that they could not possibly render themselves more acceptable to their *new* monarch, than by *reviling* the memory of his predecessor.

To place this subject in the strongest point of view, it will be necessary to recite an article of the Coronation Oath, together with the declaration of the people's rights, to which that oath *chiefly* refers.

The bishop at the coronation says, "Will  
 " you solemnly promise and swear, to go-  
 " vern the people of England and the do-  
 " minions thereunto belonging, according  
 " to

“ to the *statutes* in parliament agreed on,  
 “ and the *laws* and customs of the  
 “ same?”

The King says, “ I solemnly promise so  
 “ to do.”

*Magna Charta*, which has been frequently confirmed, by subsequent statutes, says,  
 “ No freeman shall be *taken* or *imprisoned*,  
 “ or *disseised* of his freehold or of his liberties,  
 “ or free customs, or be *outlawed*  
 “ or *banished*, or *otherwise* destroyed, nor  
 “ shall the King pass upon, or *commit* him  
 “ to *prison*, unless by the *lawful* judgment  
 “ of his *peers*, or by the *law* of the land.”  
 Now the Warrants for *impressing* men,  
 which were granted by authority of the late  
 King’s commission, by which a parcel of  
 armed ruffians were let loose, to exercise a  
 discretionary violence in the seizure of his  
 innocent subjects, with various other circumstances  
 of cruelty, were a *notorious violation* of the above oath.

Nor will this gross perjury admit of any  
 palliation from the plea of ignorance or stupidity

pidity, unless we were to conceive it so *superlatively* great, that he could not have distinguished the person of the Pretender from himself. Much less can it be defended from the more usual plea of necessity, because, it was in his *own option* to decide *whether* any such necessity should exist; since he could not but *be conscious*, that upon his signifying to parliament, that he was resolved to *adhere strictly to his oath*, they would have found themselves *obliged* to do *their duty*, by making some *constitutional* provision against this inhuman practice.

Now, although like conclusions must follow from like premises, I think it prudent to declare that what I have here alledged of your Royal Grandfather, is wholly *inapplicable* to any thing, that has happened during your reign; but is merely intended as a *timely warning* to your Majesty, not to suffer yourself to be reduced to a *similar* situation, on any *future* emergency.

Perhaps it may not be amiss to add, that if this had been written at that period, it would only have *aggravated* the criminality of



of his breach of oath, if he had been of so ignoble a disposition, as to have attempted to *revenge* himself on any subject, who had honesty and fortitude enough to reproach him for his *injustice* and *falsehood*; nor could mankind have failed to remark, that it was infinitely more scandalous and unbecoming, for a prince to *perjure* himself, than for a subject to remonstrate against his conduct, in such a case.

There can never be a more favourable juncture for the redress of this evil; the nation is in a state of tranquility with regard to foreign powers, and as the parliament is now sitting, a message from your Majesty to the effect I have just mentioned, must *unavoidably* lay *them* under the *necessity* of *finding* a remedy.

It may not be altogether unprofitable to remind you, that the meanest subject holds the claim of his birth-right by, *at least*, as *sacred* a tenure as you do your crown, and that the sole end for which your family were introduced, was for the more *effectual*  
pre-

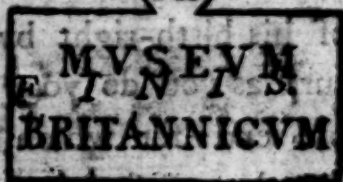
*preservation* of those rights, which are not to be trampled upon, under the *tyrannic* pretence, of a *nominal* necessity.

Moreover, remember, Sir, that the plea of a necessity, which a man may prevent whenever he *chuses*, cannot acquit him of the *imputation* that follows from the *breach* of his *oath*; and that the *unbounded* generosity, which You and Your's have experienced from this nation; infinitely transcend all the good you can possibly do in return. I am, with the profoundest respect, both to Yourself, and the high office You bear,

S I R,

Your most loyal subject,

*The Sailors' Advocate.*



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